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ABSTRACT

An annotated bibliography of the most significant and general sources available on central planning for social change in the Soviet Union is presented. This bibliography concentrates on sources dealing with planning and change and includes a few works on forces and institutions of change, such as education, collective farms, trade unions, etc., and some on specific time periods or policies. (Author/CK)

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**SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CENTRALLY PLANNED SOCIAL
CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION**

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SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CENTRALLY PLANNED SOCIAL CHANGE
IN THE SOVIET UNION

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Developing a bibliography on central planning for social change in the Soviet Union requires assuming somewhat arbitrary and limited definitions of central planning and social change if it is to be kept to any manageable size. This bibliography concentrates on sources dealing with planning and change and includes a few works on forces and institutions of change, such as education, collective farms, trade unions, etc., and some on specific time periods or policies. Almost all the sources were written in the 1950s and 1960s as the rapid pace of change and reorganization in the country were felt to make earlier works too dated.

Some variation occurs in the amount of information included under each source because place of publication and number of pages, for example, were not always available.

It was decided to choose the most significant and general of the sources available to annotate in depth. The large amount of material on change and planning, written about the Soviet economy, also influenced the material selected for annotation.

Ali, Agha Shankat. Modernization of Soviet Central Asia: an example of socialist construction. 1964, 102pp.

Ames, Edward. Soviet Economic Processes. Homewood, Illinois: R.D. Irwin, 1965, 257pp.

Andrews, William George, ed. Soviet Institutions and Policies. Princeton, New Jersey: Van Nostrand, 1966, 411pp.

Bacon, Elizabeth E. Central Asians under Russian Rule: a study in culture change. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966, 273pp.

Balinsky, Alexander et al. Planning and the Market in the U.S.S.R. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1967, 132pp.

This book deals with problems and issues in Soviet economic reform, current planning reforms, the politics of Soviet economic reform and convergence of the possible and the probable.

Barker, Geoffrey Russell. Soviet Industry. Oxford: Blackwell, 1956, 129pp.

This book covers some problems of incentives and labor productivity in Soviet industry, including the planning of labor.

Baumanis, Arturs. Soviet Book Statistics: a guide to their use and interpretation. Urbana, Illinois: Robert A. Martin, 1955, 16pp.

Baykov, Alexander. "Some Observations on Economic Development in the USSR," in J. Tinbergen et al. Economic Planning. The Hague: Mouton, 1963, pp. 21-44.

Belov, Fedor. The History of a Soviet Collective Farm. Praeger, 1955, 237pp.

Bereday, George Z.F. and Joan Pennar, eds. The Politics of Soviet Education. Praeger, 1960, 217pp.

Bergson, Abram. "The Concept of Social Welfare." Quarterly Journal of Economics 69 (2), May 1954, pp. 233-52.

_____. The Economics of Soviet Planning. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1964, 382pp.

Although the book deals primarily with economic planning, the first three chapters cover material relevant to a general understanding of Soviet planning.

The first chapter, "Introduction", discusses the Soviet economic system generally and the question of determining the uses of available resources.

The second chapter on "Ownership" covers the nature and scope of public, cooperative, and private ownership in the Soviet Union during various periods beginning with 1928. Ownership of industrial production, agricultural land, livestock herds, retail sales shops, and urban housing are assigned percentages or ruble values for different types of ownership for different dates. In all cases, except for housing, state or public ownership has continued to increase. Ownership of housing by public and cooperative groups peaked at 66.3 percent in 1950 and was last recorded at 61.6 percent in 1961.

Since the Revolution, all land has been owned exclusively by the government. "Cooperative and private producers have been able to operate only because the government has made available for their use on appropriate terms necessary publicly owned land." (p.16). Of all the areas of ownership studied, industrial production has the greatest amount in public ownership with 97 percent in 1960.

In agriculture, state farms (sovkhozes) accounted for 42.6 percent of sown area in 1961 with collective farms (kolkhozes) accounting for 54.1 percent. These latter have fluctuated from 1.2 percent in 1928 to 85.7 percent in 1937, remaining around 80 percent through 1955 until the substantial drop between 1955 and 1961. The increase in the percentage of land sown by state farms from 15.8 percent in 1955 to 42.6 percent in 1961 is accounted for by the New Land Program "for the wholesale plowing of previously untilled land, which was initiated in 1954". (p.19). Collective farms are also being converted into state farms in older areas. The collective farms also have available a subsidiary farm plot, usually less than 1 acre, for member households for their own use. The private holdings of livestock by the peasants on the collectives' subsidiary plots "still represent one of the most important survivals of private ownership of the means of production in the USSR". (p.19).

Government ownership of public transport is almost 100 percent. Over two-thirds of the Russian railroad mileage belonged to the government under the tsars with the balance added soon after the Revolution.

Part of retail sales includes the collective farm market, in which surpluses are sold after required produce is turned over to the government.

The Soviet government has always maintained a monopoly in foreign trade.

In the country, private and collective farmers usually own their own housing. Also in the city, there is a considerable amount of private and personal ownership of housing for the use of an individual family. Government has predominated in housing construction although allowing, and sometimes encouraging, private building.

The third chapter, "The Administrative Apparatus", covers general organs of government, agencies for operational control, functional agencies, other apparatus for the public sector, and administration of cooperative affairs. Some of the material is no longer accurate because of more recent administrative structural changes in the late 1960s creating new economic regional units and altering the number of others by consolidating or creating new ones.

The Gosplan with its corresponding units at all sublevels has had the main authority for formulating plans. Its responsibilities have altered many times since its creation as well as its relations with its corresponding agencies at the lower levels. In addition to planning, it is a continuing source of economic information.

Reference is also made to the role of the Ministry of Finance, State Bank, other banks, Ministry of Labor, and various relevant committees.

A distinction is noted between the two types of government organizations concerned with the use of publicly owned productive assets, "those exercising operational control over such assets within different economic sectors and regions, and those with responsibilities of a functional and often also of a staff character." (p.40).

Government organizations are also classified as budgetary or being supported out of the general governmental budgetary revenues or extrabudgetary--largely self-financing with expenditures met mostly from revenues from their own current productive activities. Examples of the latter would be agencies exercising operational control at inferior levels and government enterprises. Budgetary organizations may be viewed as institutions constituting the government and extrabudgetary as "economic agencies acting on their behalf in the conduct of economic affairs." (p.42).

Brief mention is also made of the role of trade unions and the Communist Party, through whose organizations, from the cell to the Politburo, the system's directors impose their will. The author remarks on the parallelism between the party and government structure. In the past, the party structure operated mostly as an instrument of control, but recently party officials have been assigned executive responsibilities in party-government committees. Both the government and the party exercise considerable operational control over collective and private affairs.

The frequent reorganization of the bureaucratic apparatus, concerned with resource use, has resulted from changing economic and political conditions and, in particular, from the death of Stalin. This reorganization has been used not only as a means

of discrediting replaced personnel and portending progress, but also as a means of expressing dissatisfaction with the structures themselves.

Bergson, Abram. Planning and Productivity under Soviet Socialism. Pittsburgh: Carnegie-Mellon University, distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1968, 95pp.

Bernard, Philippe J. Planning in the Soviet Union trans. I. Nove. Oxford, New York: Pergamon Press, 1966.

This book, written by a French economist who visited the Soviet Union in the early 1960s, deals mainly with the problems of production, investment and distribution of economic goods in the Soviet Union. However, the first five chapters give an overall view of life in the Soviet Union and a reference framework for planning. From these chapters one can grasp the strong influence of the Party upon planning and the different constraints, which face planners in a country, which does not start by evaluating final demand as is the case with Western type programming, but begins with an evaluation of industrial production and its growth potential. Estimates of demand are not based on estimates of the rise in income of the population and elasticity of demand by categories of products, but upon normative estimates of demand made by Soviet planners. This approach is based upon the belief that it is better "to fulfil the vital needs of the population as a whole--needs which are perfectly known-- than to stimulate excessive demand among certain sectors which one must then set about satisfying." (p.101).

The following are the major topics covered in the first five chapters:

Chapter I. Background.

External Aspects of Economic Life.
Setting for an Exchange of Views.

Chapter II. Characteristics of the Soviet System.

A Collective Economy.
Money and Commodity Concepts and their Role.
Political and Administrative Organization.
Territorial Divisions.
The Party.
Other Special Features of the Economic Structure.

Chapter III. Ideology and Planning.

Meaning of Ideology.
The Influence of Ideology.
The Origins of Planning.
The "Laws" of Socialism.
The Transition of Communism.

Chapter IV. The Process of Planning.

General Characteristics of Soviet Planning.
Planning Procedures: Current Plans.
Long-Term Plans.
Content of Plans and Product Classification.
Regional Planning.

Chapter V. Co-ordination of Plans and Determination of Objectives.

Co-ordination of Plans.
Choice of Main Objectives.
The Instruments of Planning: Norms, Balances and National Accounting.

Blakeley, Thomas J. Soviet Theory of Knowledge. Dordrecht, Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1964, 203pp. Bibliography, pp. 146-193.

Bor, Mikhail. Aims and Methods of Soviet Planning trans. Korobochkin, Lempert and Nazarov. New York: International Publishers, 1967. 244pp.

Written by a professor with more than 25 years experience in Soviet planning agencies and the author of numerous works on theoretical and applied economics, the work focuses on a description and analysis of economic planning in the Soviet Union. However, the author had a definite bias in favor of socialism to the point that his book seems to be a description of the way things should be and should work under a particular Socialist economy, rather than the way they do work. "The principle of democratic centralism underlies the planned guidance of the Soviet economy. This principle as its name implies, combines centralism and democracy." (Foreword).

The Introductory Note by Maurice Dobb comments on the role and experience of planning in Socialist countries in general. He notes that planning "has been traditionally regarded as constituting the major advantage of capitalism over socialism as a functioning economic system." (p.11). Experience has shown it, he believes, to promote sustained economic growth and rapid structural change.

Dobb believes that planning in socialist countries should be considered problematically--i.e. looking at particular techniques in terms of purposes and effectiveness--and in proper historical and dynamic context.

Although, in principle, planning and market autonomy are opposed, "market instruments such as prices, costs, taxes, interest and rental charges, credit, bonus-payments," influence and steer economic decisions, with market indices forming crucial links between a plan and its practical implementation.

In more recent years, in socialist countries, there have been changes in the direction of decentralization and greater attention to consumer demands and efficient use of scarce resources. Prices will, and do, play a crucial role in decisions regarding goods produced and method of production.

Emphasis on economic efficiency has promoted greater use of more sophisticated economic planning methods such as mathematical models, input-output analysis, linear programming and optimum solution of economic planning problems.

Besides the above material from the Introductory Note by Dobb, the subsection titled "Plan for Raising Material and Cultural Standards" is worth perusing, if only to get an idea of Soviet social goals. Bor states the ultimate purpose of all national economic plans as "to meet as fully as possible the peoples' demand for the means-to-a-full-life." (p. 146). Living standards, by which is meant all material and cultural values used by the population, is a "complex socio-economic concept which can only be expressed by an interrelated system of indices," (p. 146) which can be reduced to three groups: (1) indices of living conditions, (2) indices of cultural or spiritual conditions, and, (3) indices of working conditions and social opportunities. The indices in each group are primarily summary indices of per capita consumption of some good or service, or indices of relative and proportional service fulfillments versus needs.

Included also in this section are extremely ambitious targets for the growth of living standards during the Five Year Plan Period of 1966-70. For example, "to increase by no less than 40 percent grants in cash and free services financed from the public funds of consumption" and "to increase by 1970 the volume of services by approximately 2.5 times on the average and more than 3 times in rural localities." (p. 148). There is a definite attempt to reduce the gap between rural and urban living conditions. The growth of wages and salaries will be the primary factor in the increase in living standards.

Bor develops the methodology used for computing real income, necessary for discovering differential group growth rates and the relation of income from public and private sources.

His list of the individual and collective demands, met by public funds of consumption, is worth pondering because at present "allowances and discounts from the public funds account for about one quarter of the real incomes of public employees," (p. 152) and will be a major future mechanism for distributing the national product and raising living standards.

In Chapter 5, "Realisation of Plan Targets," the first section is entitled "Plans Must Be Fulfilled". In this he discusses

the needs of enterprises for materials, labor, administration, and markets if targets are to be fulfilled. Under capitalist economies it is impossible to ensure the fulfillment of a plan because the means of production are privately owned. However, under a socialist system, the "drafting and fulfillment of a plan are inseparable constituents of a single whole known as the planning of the national economy." (p. 196). On the basis of the socialist cost accounting system, every enterprise can be provided with adequate numbers of sufficiently trained labor as well as materials. Because the Soviet system of cost accounting, used as a method of planned production, is "based on a proper combination of the interests of society at large and those of each economic unit," rather than the motive of profit under a capitalist system, all will be in balance and plans will be fulfilled, or so the author would have us believe.

- Bornstein, Morris, and Daniel R. Fusfeld, eds. The Soviet Economy: a book of readings. revised edition. Homewood, Illinois: R.D. Irwin, 1966.
- Broderson, Arvid. The Soviet Worker. New York: Random House, 1966, 278pp.
- Brown, Emily Clark. Soviet Trade Unions and Labor Relations. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1966, 394pp.
- Campbell, Robert W. Soviet Economic Power: its organization, growth, and challenge. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966, 184pp.
- Carter, Gwendolen M. and John H. Herz. Major Foreign Powers. Fifth edition. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967, pp.496-615.

The Soviet Union is one of four countries, which are studied in this volume. Chapters on Soviet People and Policies, Soviet Political Heritage, Communist Party, Soviets, Soviet Political Leadership, Soviet Law and Courts, The USSR: "A Workers' Society?" and the Soviet Union and the Outside World cover every aspect of the country and afford the unfamiliar reader an excellent opportunity to familiarize himself with its people, history, and institutions before studying planned change. However, the chapter, "Administration in the USSR: Planning and Controls" pp. 570-587, is excellent for beginning a study of this specific topic because it covers broadly all of the institutions and practices of planning historically as well as structurally.

- Cole, J.F. and F.C. German. A Geography of the USSR: the background to a planned economy. London: Butterworth, 1961, 290pp.
- Davies, R.W. The Development of the Soviet Budgetary System. Cambridge University Press, 1959, 372pp.

Davies, R.W. "Planning a Mature Economy in the USSR." in R.W. Davies, Economics of Planning Vol. 6, #2, 1966, pp. 138-53.

_____. "Planning for Rapid Growth in the USSR." Ibid. Vol. 5, #1-2, 1965, pp. 74-86.

Degras, Jane, ed. Soviet Planning. New York: Frederic A. Praeger, 1964, 225pp.

This book is a collection of ten essays on various topics related to Soviet planning, with an emphasis on economic planning. Three in particular seem relevant to the study of central planning and social change.

The first, "Plans to Urbanize the Countryside 1950-61", by Luba Richter, deals with the attempts to implement specific proposals for the 'eradication of the differences between town and country', a goal embodied in the Communist Manifesto. Because creating urban amenities in the country is beyond the capacity of an individual collective or village, the task became one of national long-term village planning or planning urban communities in the countryside.

In 1950, in conjunction with a drive to merge small collective farms into larger economic units, Khrushchev proposed creating 'agroroads', rural cities, or townships. His interest was not only in the economic advantages provided by the larger scale but was also concern for improving housing and utilities in the countryside.

However, this idea ran into several difficulties. The peasants valued their traditions and were not sure that they wanted to have their lives suddenly uprooted and their homes replaced. The agroroads would reduce the importance of peasant cultivation of small private plots, a major source of livelihood for kolkhoz members. This proposal would reduce the plot's size and move it outside the new settlement, thus making intensive farming difficult.

Secondly, a proposal to construct major public buildings and institutions in the center of the city, such as a hospital, schools, theatres, parks, libraries, etc. could never be financed out of kolkhoz funds and labor nor could it be done within a few years. Use of national resources for such purposes would divert funds needed for achieving the main objective of raising agricultural output.

The article describes the treatment given the proposal at various times by the Press and Party leaders, before, and after, Khrushchev came to power. In the latter period, the idea was revived but considerable scaled down. Although little urbanization

had taken place in the country when the essay was written in the early 1960s, the persistent recurrence and development of the basic idea "to create large urban-type settlements with well-planned housing areas, communal services, and all modern facilities," (p. 44) indicate that the goals remain and that realization is recognized as evolutionary in character. Thus the significant questions are when and at what pace will rural reshaping take place?

The second essay, "Welfare Criteria in Soviet Planning", by M.C. Kaser, attempts to analyze the extent to which Soviet planning officials and economists are aware of the shortcomings of their theories and policies in providing for consumer needs, and whether any changes are in view. The Soviet theory of welfare assumes a historically inevitable goal above debate because no classes hostile to it exist. It also assumes that the State is 'the summarized reflected form of the economic desires of the class which controls production.' (Angels, p. 149). The Party refuses to recognize any contradiction between consumer and State preferences. The definition of welfare is the prerogative of the State, which determines when human needs are satisfied. Supposedly the law of planned, proportional development will enable planners to achieve the aim of 'the uninterrupted and the biggest possible increase in the physical volume of national income consistent with an optimal relationship between accumulation and the expansion of popular consumption.' During the past when sacrifices had to be made for the social reconstruction of the USSR, optimal relationship was not a guiding principle of policy.

According to the author, the current reassessment recognizes that the "law of planned development does not incorporate the aims of social production and does not indicate the bases on which to achieve proportionality in the economy." (p. 153). Proportionality or a choice in the rate of saving has been arbitrarily chosen by politicians rather than estimated on the basis of economic theory.

The author then begins a somewhat lengthy and complex discussion of models, embodied in government policy, which are a refinement of Marx's theories regarding Department I (producer goods) and Department II (consumer goods).

Other unsolved problems discussed include the adequacy of material incentives, calculation of depreciation, exclusion of non-productive services from the national product and the marginal equalization of the rates of substitution and transformation.

Methods for computing demand are still somewhat simple, but are being replaced by some marginal analysis of demand. However, there is still a tendency to choke off demand by price.

Attempts at fixing personal consumption in absolute magnitude for each product for each year have proved impossible because consumption depends on the level of welfare already achieved and on price ratios. However, Soviet econometricians still believe in the possibility of utilizing scientifically established standards of consumption as norms, to which the public will adhere.

Thus an allocation according to needs will always turn out to be an "allocation according to what the administrators believe should be the needs under prevailing conditions." (p. 172). Thus there is no real welfare theory in Soviet economics.

The third essay, "Towards a Theory of Planning," by Alec Nove, examines whether the "law of planned (proportional) development" underlies the theory and practice of planning in an economy like that of the U.S.S.R. This law asserts that the "correct" proportions in the development of an economy are observed naturally in the system of the U.S.S.R., thus justifying automatically any changes announced in economic policy. The law is often interpreted also to mean that consistent plans must be formulated, observing objectively defined input-output proportions.

The law also related to "Marx's 'expanded reproduction' model and the priority growth of production of the means of production." (p. 194). In this case, the question is to what extent, in a closed economy, is an increase necessary in the means of production if growth is to be stimulated. By the same token, how much should investment in production means be greater than that for consumer goods - if at all? In both these cases foreign trade and technical progress should be taken into consideration. One must consider capital saving inventions rather than assume priority growth of investment in the means of production as a necessary precondition of growth.

This theory is a tool of economic ideology, used in its task of combating the natural tendency to divert resources into current consumption or into consumer goods. The doctrine was particularly useful in the early stages of Soviet industrialization, when the desire for rapid growth required priority development of heavy industry.

In practice, Nove assumes that Soviet leadership seeks to ensure as rapid an economic growth as possible, given the reality of material, social and political restraints, which make it appear essential for the standard of living to increase in normal years. The ideology promises a greater degree of abundance because the "legitimation of the communist monopoly of power ... is closely bound up with the proposition that the party is leading the people towards communism." (p. 198). However,

"the extent of actual diversion of resources to the needs of the citizens varies with changes in the political balance of power, the presence or absence of terror, the real or imagined dangers of the inter-national situation, or other more or less independent variables." (p. 198).

Another theory holds that the priority of the means of production is an essential part of the ideology in order to prevent prosperity, which would threaten totalitarian rule. Nove disagrees with this view because he feels that ensuring better living standards is necessary for the political well-being of the leadership. Strain and danger are good for discipline but only if they can be seen as unavoidably necessary.

Another theory hypothesizes a cyclical growth under totalitarianism with constant emphasis on producer goods and investment occasionally leading to a critical social situation, forcing a redirection of resources.

Consumer goods composed 60 percent of the total in 1928 and 29 percent when the article was written. How low can they go? Rather than uncovering any theory of planning, Nove defines the dominant Soviet goal as "maximum growth, subject to necessary improvement in living standards." (p. 202). He also lists the following guidelines:

1. Priority for growth-inducing sectors;
2. Consistency in plans, i.e. input-output balance;
3. Elaboration of such a system of central control, information-collecting, communication of instructions, and incentives, as will enable the plans to be most expeditiously fulfilled.

These guidelines raise problems of devising a closer relationship between instructions and incentives, optimization, efficiency, the law of value, and the price system. These are being studied and may lead to genuine theories of planning. A flowering of mathematical economics is also occurring, suggesting that soon a theory of planning practice might emerge for carrying out objectives already politically determined, rather than determining them.

DeWitt, Nicholas. Education and Professional Employment in the USSR. National Science Foundation, 1955, 400pp.

Dobb, Maurice H. Soviet Economic Development since 1917. New York: International Publishers, 1967, 515pp.

Evenko, Ivan Andrevich. Planning in the USSR trans. Leo Lempert. Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1961.

Frolic, B. Michael. Soviet Urban and Regional Planning Administration. Ithaca, New York: Center of Housing and Environmental Studies, 1963.

This book is a bibliography, partially annotated, covering books and particularly journal articles on urban planning, housing, local administration, and regional planning and administration, from both Western and Soviet sources (some of the latter are translated). It is fairly extensive from 1959 on, but contains some selections prior to that date. Those with pre- or earlier post-war interests are referred to Parkin's City Planning in Soviet Russia (with an interpretative bibliography), Chicago, 1953.

Goldman, Marshall I. The Soviet Economy: myth and reality. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1968, 176pp.

Grzybowski, Kazimierz. Soviet Legal Institutions: doctrines and social functions. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1962, 285pp.

Guins, George C. Soviet Law and Soviet Society. The Hague: M. Nyhoff, 1954, 457pp.

This book covers ethical foundations of the Soviet structure, the mechanism of the planned economy, the duties and rights of peasants and workers, rulers and toilers, the family and the State, Soviet justice, the peoples' democracies and the Soviet pattern for a united world.

Hardt, John P. The Future Role of the Soviet Central Planner. McLean, Virginia: Research Analysis Corporation, 1964, 33pp.

"A review is given of the following problem areas in economic planning in the USSR: the relationship between defense claims on the economy and industrial sectors crucial to maintaining a high growth rate; and the state of agriculture as it may provide not only a stable grain harvest but also the basis of improvement in the Soviet standard of living through improvement in the diet, a requirement, which places new demands on the traditional Soviet industrial branches."

Hazard, John N. Law and Social Change in the USSR. Toronto: Carswell, 1953, 310 pp.

_____. Settling Disputes in Soviet Society: the formative years of legal institutions. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960, 534pp.

Holzman, Franklyn D. Soviet Taxation: the fiscal and monetary problems of a planned economy. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955, 376pp.

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- Juviler, Peter H. Soviet Policy Making. New York: Praeger, 1967, 274pp.
- Kaser, Michael. "Kosygin, Liberman, and the Pace of Soviet Industrial Reform." The World Today. 21 (9), Sept. 1965, pp 375-88.
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- LaFave, Wayne, ed. Law in the Soviet Society. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1965, 297pp.
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- Part II. "Contents: The planning of trade; consumer services and public utilities; public education, culture and public health; the standard of living; the balance of personal income and expenditure; the national economy of the USSR and the Union Republics; and planning foreign economic relations."
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- Meyer, Frank S. The Molding of Communists: the training of the Communist cadre. Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961, 214pp.

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Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1969,
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North Carolina Press, 1967, 203pp.

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management.

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in Economics of Planning. Vol 7, #3, 1967, pp. 270-9.

Zhukov, Victor. A Plan for the People. London: Soviet Booklets,
1959, 62pp.

Zverev, Arsenii. The Soviet Standard of Living: social benefits.
New York: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1959, 32pp.

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